Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT

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Target—Democratic Extremism: Republican National Chairman William E. Miller has called for a country-wide offensive against a left-wing manifesto sponsored by 35 past and present Democratic members of Congress. "The proposals" in their manifesto, he declared "not only repeat the Communist line—they go beyond the Communist line."

Noting the fact that "Democrats from President Kennedy down have cried out loudly in recent months for prompt repudiation of 'extremism' of both Left and Right," Miller points to the Democratic manifesto as "the first documented example of wild political extremism to come directly from either major party."

The Chairman, in a letter to Republican leaders in the 50 states, urged them to challenge Democrats everywhere to defend or repudiate the book. "It contains," he said, "the most dangerous foreign policy recommendations I have ever seen. I believe that in discrediting this wild document we shall be serving the national interest."

Entitled *The Liberal Papers,* the book has just been published and is sponsored by the Liberal Project which was formed by a group of House Democrats in 1959 for the purpose of influencing Democratic Party policy. Now that the Democrats are in power, the Project is obviously seeking to influence our whole official policy.

Among its founders or sponsors are such Democrats as Representative James Roosevelt of California, Chester Bowles, an official foreign policy adviser of President Kennedy, and Representatives William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania and James G. O'Hara of Michigan.

The volume includes demands for the US to recognize Red China and sponsor its membership in the United Nations, disarm West Germany while recognizing Communist East Germany, shut down US missile bases in Europe, let Moscow listen in on our aerial-warning DEW Line system and make "unilateral acts" of disarmament.

In attacking *The Liberal Papers,* the Republican National Committee points out that one staff consultant, who took a leading role in the Liberal Project and was a consultant in the preparation of *The Liberal Papers,* is employed by the National Security Council, our highest level strategic planning agency. In view of the above-mentioned "dangerous foreign policy recommendations," Chairman Miller demands assurance from President Kennedy "that the 'better Red than dead' philosophy of *The Liberal Papers* has not seeped into this top-level planning agency, even on the staff level."

Also named as founders of the Liberal Project were Democratic Representatives Henry S. Reuss and Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin and Frank Thompson of New Jersey; and the following former Democratic Representatives: Charles O. Porter (Ore.), William H. Meyer (Vt.), Byron Johnson (Colo.), Leonard G. Wolf (Iowa) and George A. Kasem (Calif.). Thompson and Reuss hastened to deny sponsoring the *Papers,* although neither denied membership in the ultra-left-wing Liberal Project group.

In addition to Bowles, three former Democratic congressmen have been given jobs in the New Frontier. Wolf and Johnson were appointed to the Agency for International Development (AID) and Meyer was appointed as a consultant to the Interior Department.

Miller, noting that the book fails to reveal names of 22 members of the Democratic Liberal Project, urges that all Democratic incumbents should be forced to state whether they are among the 22 "secret" Liberal Project members and whether they defend or repudiate the Democratic book and that all Democratic incumbents who are identified with the Liberal Project should be pressed "to the wall to defend or repudiate their book during their re-election campaigns." (In Section VII of this issue there is a description of the book and numerous startling quotations therefrom.)

Capitol Camera: Representative Bruce Alger (R.-Tex.) says business representatives are afraid to speak out against the Administration's reciprocal trade and tariff bill lest they be subjected to investigation by the Internal Revenue Service or an anti-trust suit by the Department of Justice. "I am seeing it every day," says Alger, "in my (Ways and Means) tax committee."

• *Congressional estimates of the cost to the taxpayers of Mrs. Kennedy's India trip range from* $300,000 *to* $700,000. *Included are payments of over* $2,000 *a week for a movie cameraman and a film director for USIA, while commercial news film companies are also filming the trip. These facts were related by Representative E. A. Cederberg (R.-Mich.) who protests this wasteful duplication. Other congressmen ask: Why this costly trip?—it does not help the US, only the neutralist government of India.*

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• Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D.-Wash.) last week ventilated a lot of private Democratic criticism when he heaved a verbal missile that was obviously aimed at Adlai Stevenson, US Ambassador to the UN. Jackson was JFK's Democratic National Chairman during the Presidential campaign. He obviously does not think that Adlai should shape US policy (such as his reported responsibility for the Cuban fiasco), nor that the US should attach so much importance to the UN in its global strategy.

• *Last week the South Carolina House of Representatives passed a resolution calling for a US Constitutional amendment abolishing personal income, estate and gift taxes.*

Atomic Test Ban: GOP congressional leaders last week voiced concern that British pressures for "minimum" inspection in a nuclear test-ban may induce the United States to soften its stand on demanding stiff safeguards.

House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) told a news conference: "We now urge the President to insist firmly upon Soviet acceptance of our proposals and lacking that acceptance to allow nothing to deter him from the early resumption of tests so essential to this nation's military security." Both Senator Everett Dirksen (Ill.) and Halleck observed that the Republicans in the last ten months have repeatedly urged "a stronger nuclear posture" on the part of the Administration.

Backfire from Business: Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon last week received a shock when he told a group of businessmen that the Administration's eight per cent "tax credit" is good and necessary. His remarks drew stony silence from the Tax Executives Institute meeting here in D. C.

But these businessmen applauded vigorously when Representative John W. Byrnes (R.-Wisc.), key GOP member of the House Ways and Means Committee, which handles tax bills, scathingly denounced the controversial proposal. He was interrupted by applause many times and got a standing ovation when he ended his remarks.

As HUMAN EVENTS has pointed out, business in general regards the Administration's "tax credit" as a fraud, not offering (as claimed by Dillon) a genuine liberalized tax write-off for plant expansion—the big demand of business. Trade groups call it a monstrosity which even the best tax lawyer cannot understand.

Byrnes calls the Administration's pet measure the "most unwarranted subsidy ever considered."

Instead, he urged his own legislation to increase by 20 per cent the tax deductions a firm may take for wear-and-tear on equipment. Liberalized tax write-offs on plant and equipment, economists have been saying, are necessary to keep American industry and products competitive in the cut-throat trade war with foreign sources. They have repeatedly pointed out that such liberalized treatment for business has been far greater in Western European countries for years and has given the industries of those countries a big lead on their American counterparts.

De Gaulle: If the US State Department expects to find the French President more tractable now that he has signed an Algerian cease-fire agreement, they may be sorely disappointed. Diplomatic reporters in Paris say that de Gaulle's patience with British Prime Minister Macmillan is exhausted. The General pins on Macmillan the responsibility for the current (what he calls) "ridiculous disarmament conference" in Geneva, where—he says—the West will get the short end of it.

To de Gaulle, this British performance is *vraiment le comble* (the peak) of Albion's perfidy. When Britain sought a few months ago to join the Common Market, de Gaulle agreed, with the provision that London side with Adenauer and de Gaulle *vis-a-vis* Soviet Russia. Then Macmillan prodded Kennedy into participation in the "ridiculous" parley in Geneva which Khrushchev promoted.

Now de Gaulle is reportedly intent on keeping Britain out of the Common Market—because of that country's failure to play ball politically with Adenauer and him.

De Gaulle's anger with Britain was so great that he reportedly turned down pleas from his friend Adenauer to send a delegate to Geneva ("to protect German interests"). De Gaulle told *Der Alte* that if any agreement on Berlin dangerous to West Germany emerged at Geneva, it would not be enforceable. Western Europe, said the Frenchman, would not accept it and the "Anglo-Saxons" could do nothing about it, nor could Soviet Russia for that matter. Any threat that the US might withdraw American troops from Germany leaves de Gaulle cold—he says American public opinion would not permit it.

Meanwhile, France and Germany are building up their military strength and expect to have (before the year is out) 13 German divisions and eight French divisions, the latter equipped with nuclear warheads for artillery and small arms.

Education Sleeper: The US Office of Education boys and the National Education Association have really pulled a fast one in lobbying for the approval of federal aid to educational television (ETV) by both houses of Congress without much public notice at all. The Senate bill asks for $50 million in grants to public or private ETV groups for construction of facilities; the House bill provides for grants of $25 million (to be matched by the states) to public ETV agencies only.

Representative John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) says: "Because no need is apparent, because other means of financing are available and being used and because ETV is the 'fastest-growing mass media means of communication' without direct federal aid,

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I ask your support in rejecting this unnecessary additional burden on an already strained federal budget."

Raymond Moley tips off Catholics that they should expect to be squeezed out of the federally-assisted ETV field. An American Telephone and Telegraph Company spokesman expressed considerable concern because there would be a denial of "freedom of choice" between the purchase of broadcasting facilities and the leasing of interconnecting facilities from common carriers.

The US Chamber of Commerce points out that under no other federal aid measure is so much potential control of education being bought for so little money. (Write your members of Congress immediately.)

California: Private property isn't a dead thing under the Democrats in California. Not yet, anyway. Superior Court Judge William A. Glen has put a partial crimp in Governor Edmund G. Brown's stormtrooper action in seizing privately-owned files on subversive activities from the National Guard Armory in San Diego and stashing them away in the State Capital. (See HUMAN EVENTS, March 17.)

Many have charged that the Brown Administration's actions were for the purpose of insuring that no charges of subversive activities by Democrats could be used by Republicans during the campaign.

Whatever the reason, Judge Glen has ordered the files returned to San Diego pending an appeal by the Administration to a higher court on who owns the files. There is little doubt in the minds of objective observers, however, that all documents are the property of the San Diego Research Library.

The San Diego *Union* has sharply criticized the procedures of Brown. "No one," says the *Union*, "has answered satisfactorily questions why the files were seized secretly, why highway patrolmen were employed in Gestapo-like fashion . . .

"If these police-state methods are used here and go unnoticed they may be employed elsewhere. This is the principle involved. And it is important to all California."

UN Bonds and the Congo: Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) has asked the UN to deny "the accuracy of repeated reports" appearing in *Newsweek* and the New York *Times* that it plans to take action against Katanga "as soon as Congress has approved the UN bond issue."

In a recent press release Dodd stated: "There are now 3,000 of the National Congolese Army in Albertville in north Katanga, and . . . elements in the Leopoldville government have been talking big about military action."

The central government's recent attempts to purchase $300,000 worth of American bombers, a move since squashed because of the adverse publicity it gave to Adoula's regime, has lent additional weight to these reports. Where, it is being asked in some quarters, would Adoula's government, supposedly bankrupt, get the $300,000? From the UN? Or from one of the Communist embassies in Leopoldville?

As a result of these disclosures, many Republicans and Democrats are now solidly supporting Senator George Aiken (R.-Vt.) in his fight against immediate action on the United Nations bond purchase bill. Aiken recently declared that Congress won't act on the issue until it hears from the World Court, perhaps as late as mid-summer. The crisp-spoken Vermonter also insists the world organization will "not need the money anyhow."

Bogus Trade Surplus: Representative William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.) has uncovered the fallacy in the Administration's claim that we have a highly advantageous trade position in the world market.

Recently Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated: "Last year we sold to other countries almost $20 billion worth of American goods . . . Our purchases from abroad were in the nature of $15 billion." And JFK recently said: "We sell abroad now nearly five billion dollars more than we import."

But Dorn pointed out: "We do not receive $20 billion for the American goods we export. The fact is we do not sell exports amounting to $5 billion more than what we pay for imports." Dorn, in calling the $5 billion export trade surplus a "myth," drew attention to the fact that gifts to other countries, such as wheat and other agricultural products, are listed by the government as dollar value exports.

Dorn's statistics show that the actual balance in favor of exports is only about a quarter of the mythical $5 billion, or $1,387 million.

Aiding the Enemy: If the Red Empire ever does collapse, it will be through no fault of the present Administration which seems determined to aid the enemy, particularly when it is in trouble. Several interesting items:

- While reports from Formosa disclose revolts this month in Communist China over food shortages, President Kennedy, in a recent press conference, indicated he was seriously thinking about allowing the International Trading Company of Seattle, Washington, to ship $400 million in wheat and barley to that Red country. The Communist Chinese, according to our government, are now training North Vietnamese soldiers—men who are conducting an undeclared war on South Vietnam in which American boys have been killed.

- While Fidel Castro, claimed a menace to Latin America by even our State Department at Punta

John E. Perme, Teacher, Willowick, Ohio: "It is with deep appreciation that I find myself writing this letter. As a teacher of Social Studies at Charles F. Brush High School, I can say that HUMAN EVENTS is a very excellent newsletter and will have a beneficial effect upon each of the 175 students with whom I have daily contact."

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del Este, is rationing food in his paradise, George McGovern, an assistant to the President and Director of the Food-for-Peace Program, said last week the Administration would be "very sympathetic" to any request for donations of US government surplus food to Cuba.

• A former government auditor, Jerry M. Jackis, revealed before a House Government Operations subcommittee that US foreign aid supplies in 1958 helped build a multi-million-dollar hospital in Cambodia that Russia erected as a Soviet "showpiece." His pains for revealing this information? The Kennedy Administration fired him in an agency shakeup last January.

How to Save $1 Billion: The Council of State Chambers of Commerce, representing 30 states, recently claimed that Congress could save nearly $1 billion annually by eliminating 136,100 federal civilian jobs proposed in the Administration's 1963 budget.

In a study released last week, the Council said Congress should eliminate the following number of jobs, with the resultant savings, from the 1963 budget: (1) 7,500 postal jobs—$47 million; (2) 28,600 Defense Department jobs—$210 million; and (3) 100,000 jobs in all other departments and agencies—$730 million.

Despite the President's order last October to reduce government jobs, the Council study showed that the number of jobholders has continued to rise. Before the order, said the Council, the number of civilian employes under Kennedy had risen 76,500 during his first nine months in office. On the basis of the 1963 budget, the number will rise another 47,000, said the study.

"The most rapid increase in civilian personnel has been in the Departments and agencies exclusive of the Defense Department and the Post Office, particularly since 1960," said the Council. "This," the study went on to state, "was in contrast to a declining trend in federal employment from 1952 to 1958 and then a stable level through 1960."

The Grand Inquisitor: An avalanche of criticism has descended upon the President's proposal to bypass the courts and empower the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders against alleged unfair business practices. The *Wall Street Journal* and the much respected weekly, *Barron's*, have strongly disapproved of the idea.

The liberal Washington *Post* also scored the recommendation as making the FTC both "prosecutor and judge." It would, argued the *Post*, "allow the Commission to impose upon an enterprise possibly substantial and costly modifications before these practices had been thoroughly examined."

Old hands in Washington familiar with the inquisitorial nature of the FTC are extremely wary of seeing it accumulate any additional powers, particularly since its present chairman is Paul Rand Dixon who seems to be consumed with an anti-business philosophy.

Formerly Kefauver's chief counsel on the Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, where he ran what many considered the most biased hearings in recent history, Dixon is attempting to assume dictatorial powers.

China Papers: "An ominous development" is the way General Albert C. Wedemeyer terms the State Department's issuance last week of a selective, very selective, collection of diplomatic dispatches on China (1943-1945). From the news accounts, the book is a pile of anti-Chiang Kai-shek reports and dispatches presenting the view of a number of diplomats who shared the bilious view of Free China's government taken by General "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, General George Marshall and a number of subordinates who later came under a rain of criticism from congressional probers.

Some of these disparagers of Chiang were pro-Chinese Reds, or rather "pro-agrarian reformers" (the term they preferred). In short, the Kennedy State Department lets the "agrarian-reformer" school of thought have its say at the taxpayers' expense.

It is believed that Dean Rusk's crew could have found a number of contrary dispatches from other-minded US diplomats if they had really tried. General Wedemeyer, at that time US Commander of the China theater, took a contrary point of view. (See his book *Wedemeyer Reports.*)

Around Washington it is reported that Rusk's plans to publish this volume led to the resignation of US Ambassador to Formosa Everett Drumright, who has been very friendly with the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Those "ominous developments," coming on the heels of the appointment of General Marshall S. Carter, a member of the old Marshall-Truman-Acheson crowd, as Deputy Director of CIA, have had a bad effect along Diplomatic Row. Free Chinese fear another State Department "soft-on-Peiping" policy. Among neutrals, it is taken as another example of how the US lets down its staunch allies.

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Barry Goldwater's 1958 Campaign

How Labor Tried to Defeat Him—and Lost

By STEPHEN SHADEGG

FROM 1952 TO 1958 Goldwater was regarded as a charming, personable young fellow, whose strongly-voiced convictions added interest and, on occasion, embarrassment to the work of the world's greatest deliberative body. His forthright approach to the problems of national concern was frequently disconcerting. His fellow members tolerated him and sometimes displayed affection for this lean Westerner, whose blunt, uncomplicated logic was as clear and consistent as the blue skies of his native state. But no one in Washington, Republican or Democrat, cherished any illusions that such a man could be re-elected from such a state as Arizona.

The Congress remained in session long after its usual date for adjournment in 1958, and when the weary members finally closed the books on the 85th session, one and all, from pages to party leaders said, "Goodbye, Goldwater."

The campaign itself developed into all that is good and bad in the American political system. Supporters whose devotion reached hysterical peaks pounded the pavement with armloads of Goldwater literature, begging their neighbors to become acquainted with the virtues of this man who enlisted their most fanatical allegiance. There were anonymous smear sheets, fake telephone calls, threats of death to the Senator, his family and many connected with his campaign. There was an attempt to sabotage his airplane. At the last moment a particular effort to discredit Barry very nearly succeeded.

Ernest McFarland, who had never accepted the reality of his defeat in 1952, became the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1954 and won a close contest, triumphing over Howard Pyle who was then seeking his third term.

As Governor, McFarland skillfully used all the resources of patronage and administration to build a personal political following. To his intimates it was apparent Mac had little interest in the governorship; his heart was set on returning to the Senate, and more particularly on meeting Goldwater again.

About This Book

This article is reprinted with permission from Stephen Shadegg's new book, Barry Goldwater: Freedom Is His Flight Plan *(Fleet Publishing Corporation, New York 17, New York). Senator Goldwater has said of Shadegg's book: "This is the most accurate and complete story of my life I have ever seen recorded. This is not surprising, however, since Steve Shadegg (even before his most recent research in connection with this book) knows more about me than any other writer in the country."*

Fleet Publishing Corporation feels confident the book will soon hit the best-seller lists around the nation, based on the large number of advance orders. The 304-page volume sells at all bookstores for $5.95.

GOLDWATER

The 1958 campaign was a repeat, in many ways, of the 1952 situation. This time Goldwater was the incumbent, McFarland the challenger—and the odds were reversed: the challenger was picked to win.

EARLY IN 1957, we commenced on behalf of Barry's candidacy to conduct a series of completely unscientific public opinion samplings. What we hoped to determine, if possible, was the major concern of the majority of citizens in each Arizona community. The procedures followed would, I'm sure, be regarded as absurdly inadequate by any of the professionals in the sampling field, but they did produce what we accepted as a reliable consensus of informed public concern. Before the campaign was over our returns were validated over and over again.

The major differences between the candidates were obvious even to the disinterested, unaffected observer. Barry put all his cards on top of the table; he was blunt and unequivocal; he was young and vigorous, and after six years of seasoning he had become a skillful public speaker whose straight-forward messages glistened with sincerity and purpose.

McFarland was still a courthouse politician. Never a forceful orator, his unwillingness to take a clear-cut stand on any question gave his audiences an impression of halting indecision. Mac's great political asset was his ability to shake hands with people, and a kind of tireless determination which kept him everlastingly at it.

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Goldwater's part in the probings of the McClellan Committee had earned the determined animosity of Walter Reuther and most of the big labor union bosses. In their Miami Convention, held in the spring of '58, organized labor listed as its number one political objective the defeat of the junior Senator from Arizona.

McFarland had the friendly support of organized labor, but this labor assistance had cost him dearly in local reputation.

Aside from the problems of timing which are almost entirely technical, Barry viewed 1958 as a challenge in three parts. Union bosses throughout the country were committed to go all out in their efforts to use union political strength. Consequently, it was necessary that Barry make a direct appeal to the men who worked with the tools, to separate them, if possible, from the stewards and the union hierarchy.

It was also necessary to reach the thinking Democrat capable of independent action. Goldwater realized it was necessary to separate the nominal Democrats from those who would vote for any candidate bearing the Democratic party label.

The third challenge, and perhaps first in importance, was to motivate every registered Republican and then to establish machinery to insure that every Republican got to the polls and voted.

Once again the formal campaign was opened in Prescott early in September. From the opening gun to midnight the day before the general election, the campaign was a display of techniques which thrilled and chilled the voters. Sweet reason was trampled underfoot. It was a bare-knuckle contest with no holds barred, like the fight of two backwoodsmen eye-gouging, kneeing, scratching and biting. More than political victory or political defeat was at stake. Both men were fighting for survival as public figures. One could survive. There is no agony comparable to the death of a public career—and death was in store for the loser.

ERNEST McFARLAND approached 1958 with none of the over-confidence which had, perhaps, cost him victory in 1952. He had a dozen or more campaign specialists, especially recruited because of their acknowledged skill in one or more phases of campaigning.

Because of the long session of the Congress, Barry's initial television announcements were made hurriedly under somewhat adverse conditions. The camera work left much to be desired, and the whole effect smacked of amateur enthusiasm. The McFarland commercials, on the other hand, had been done with the assistance of experts. Mac had gone to California to utilize the best technical people in the field. His films were beautifully put together. The photography was excellent, and the script concise and compelling.

The reaction from Goldwater supporters was a loud wail of anguish. To them it seemed their candidate had been outgunned and destroyed by the slick McFarland TV clips.

Far more successfully than anything that might have been achieved by a planned appeal, these poorly made television spots aroused Barry's friends; they felt compelled to do something effective personally to make up the lost ground. Ultimately it was the dedicated political activity of hundreds of people all over the state which produced the remarkable and satisfying results.

There was a second factor in this TV interchange which has never been revealed. McFarland's copy was designed to make him appear as the father of all irrigation and reclamation projects in the state. Certainly his script writers can be excused for believing they were aiming their appeal at a receptive target. Arizona is a reclamation state. Prior to 1950 there was very little industry, and the entire economy was dependent upon irrigated agriculture. Their spots made Mac the father of all water; water is life in this barren state; therefore, Mac was a great benefactor.

Had the McFarland group been correct in its assumption, the outcome of that election might very well have been different, but the majority of the people in Arizona had no active interest in reclamation. At Goldwater headquarters we knew this. The unscientific samplings of public opinion, which were begun in 1957 and continued throughout the campaign, indicated that the progress of reclamation was of no concern to the majority of voters.

In dozens of samplings the development of irrigation water was always in last place. McFarland had probably spent twenty-five thousand dollars on the TV spots, to talk about a subject which had no interest for his audience.

IN DECEMBER of 1957 we contracted for what the outdoor advertising people call a one-hundred per cent, two-hundred per cent* showing throughout the state of Arizona. About the time our billboards went on display, the McFarland camp began to scream that Goldwater was overspending, hoping to buy reelection. Their protests arose from the fact that when they tried to contract for billboard space all of the available boards had been rented. Since they couldn't match Goldwater's outdoor display, they tried to minimize its effectiveness by raising the old, hackneyed charge of lavish expenditure.

This had barely subsided when the McFarland people learned about the television arrangements for "simulcasts," and their safety valves popped wide open.

Beginning in May of 1958, Ivan Shun of Advertising Counselors, who was in charge of space and placement for the Goldwater campaign, started making arrangements to purchase the same half-hour segment on television on every channel in the state.** By linking the stations together it was thus possible to reach every television viewer who happened to be tuned in during that half-hour.

The first television program presented less than ten minutes of Goldwater on camera. The rest of the time was devoted to clips from the filmed proceedings before the McClellan Select Committee. The angry testimony of Hoffa, Reuther, Brewster, Mazy and a host of others offered all the drama of a suspenseful, fictional TV program. The witnesses snarled at the committee, the Senators demanded answers and Goldwater commented on the proceedings.

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* An advertising term indicating the entire population will see the message. 200%—twice the exposure of the 100%.

**The simulcasts were Shun's idea. They proved to be the most effective advertising of the entire campaign.

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Following the second televised "simulcast" more than one hundred union members paid a visit to the Senator's headquarters in an outside county. They wanted Senator Goldwater to know that now, for the first time, they understood what he had been talking about.

FOLLOWING the CIO's public declaration of war on Goldwater, issued at the Miami meeting in the spring of 1958, rumors began to flow of unusual political union activity in Arizona.

How much was fact or how much was fiction we probably will never know, but there was sufficient supported truth in the rumors to warrant a careful investigation. Walter Reuther had named the defeat of Senator Barry Goldwater as his number one political objective. It was incumbent upon the Goldwater camp to learn how Reuther intended to proceed.

In early June a friendly trade-unionist reported unusual political activity in Tucson, where the western regional organizer for COPE had established headquarters in the Santa Rita hotel.

The union was screening potential candidates for the legislature, and, from some of those interviewed, it was learned that money and workers were promised to candidates the unions found acceptable.

The identity of the union political expert was quickly established, and when he moved to Phoenix and began contacting influential leaders in the McFarland group, we were promptly advised of his activity.

An enterprising newspaperman on the *Arizona Republic* asked the chairman of the Democratic party in Arizona if his candidates were receiving labor union support; and, particularly, whether or not he had knowledge of any out-of-state labor political expert's activities.

The chairman categorically denied union support, and in a statement for publication said there were no outside political labor people interfering in the Arizona election. When the newspapers learned about the activity in Phoenix and Tucson, they started a probe which produced some very damaging facts. The union organizer, whose name was Al Green, had a criminal record in California. He had been arrested in connection with some early acts of union violence. In Arizona he was in almost daily contact with the leaders of the Democratic party. A photographer, seeking a scoop, got a good picture of Democratic state chairman Joe Walton, and the political expert, Al Green, leaving a downtown restaurant where they had lunched together.

The story was given front page coverage in most of the daily papers ten days before the general election. The carefully recruited and carefully trained union election-day teams, which had been established to work the precincts in Tucson and Phoenix, collapsed under the barrage of unfavorable publicity.

During the noon hour on Friday, October 31, 1958, an unidentified man distributed some handbills in the shopping areas of Phoenix. At 1:55 the first handbill was brought to Goldwater headquarters. It showed a line drawing of Joseph Stalin smoking his pipe and winking. The caption above the drawing was, "Why not vote for Goldwater." Below, there was a paste-up message implying that the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and Goldwater would merit Stalin's support.

The whole presentation was preposterous. His enemies could accuse Goldwater of many things, but no one in his right mind would suggest that Barry was soft on communism. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union had purged itself of Communist sympathizers. Moreover, it had officially announced an endorsement for McFarland.

The pattern of distribution of the handbills was peculiar. They had been left in cars on East and West McDowell Road; then three or four hundred had been placed in cars in the parking lot surrounding the Goldwater store.

The FBI was notified, but the local agent in charge could take no official action. As friends of Goldwater came to headquarters with copies of the handbill to express their indignation, some forty or fifty were accumulated. These were sent to the newspapers.

Such a flamboyant, nonsensical cartoon, distributed in the last minutes of a political campaign when emotions are frayed and tempers high, crowded all other public and political activity into the background.

By six o'clock Friday night, following a dozen reconstructions of the act, we concluded there must be a far more devious reason for the leaflet's distribution than was then in evidence.

McFarland was too skillful a campaigner to sponsor the distribution of a handbill which obviously was wide of its target; moreover, McFarland was acquainted with Federal law and, had he been responsible, there would have been some evidence of authorship on the sheet. It was ridiculous to call Goldwater a Communist; therefore, the purpose of the handbill was not to call Goldwater a Communist, and there must be some other meaning.

Saturday morning the second act of the drama developed. A newspaper release from Washington announced that a staff employe of Senator Theodore Green's (Democrat-R. I.) Select Committee on Privileges and Elections, James H. Duffy, was en route to Arizona to investigate the distribution of an unsigned smear handbill.

This indeed was quick action. An inquiry to the minority counsel of the Select Committee produced the amazing information that Duffy had made his plans to leave for Arizona on Thursday and had arranged his transportation twelve hours in advance of the appearance of the first handbill in Phoenix. We also learned that Roland Bibolet, McFarland's right-hand man, had made reservations for Duffy's hotel accommodations.

In the Goldwater headquarters we were puzzled. Was it possible that Duffy, and the other members of his committee, had possessed advance information on the leaflet? They had. In fact, some of the leaflets had been distributed in Yuma on Wednesday of that week. Apparently the matter had been brought to the Governor's attention, and his office had instituted the request for inquiry.

THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY buzzed with excitement. Duffy arrived, made a brief call on the newspaper which had printed the story of the pamphlet, telephoned the Senator's office, spoke with the publicity man, and did nothing more.

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Sunday afternoon the Maricopa County Republican Chairman, Charles Garland, called and was greatly agitated. Agent Duffy had informed him of the existence of an affidavit claiming the cartoon pamphlet had originated in his office. When I relayed this information to Barry, he suggested that I try to find Duffy and determine what was going on.

The Senate Committee employe was in his room at the Sahara Motel, and he proved to be a pleasant, slightly-built man. He wouldn't show me the affidavit, but he gave me the name of the author. It was a name I recognized as belonging to a crackpot who, two weeks earlier, had been overheard by an off-duty Phoenix policeman threatening to kill Goldwater.

I had the policeman's statement in my office; Duffy went with me and took a copy when he left.

"I don't know where the cartoon was produced," I told him. "The County Chairman swears he doesn't know. I don't believe it would be wise to make a charge on the basis of the affidavit of a known crackpot."

Duffy agreed. He also agreed with my thinking that the cartoon was too stupid and pointless to be issued by the McFarland camp. I thought he believed me when I told him that, to my knowledge, no one in the Goldwater headquarters had anything to do with the pamphlet or its distribution.

Monday morning the storm broke. Duffy released a statement to the newspapers in which he charged that the only widespread distribution of the pamphlet had been made by Stephen Shadegg, Goldwater's campaign manager. Then he checked out of his hotel room and disappeared.

Shortly after publication of the Duffy statement charging me with distributing the pamphlet, numerous McFarland supporters were on television, repeating the charge and attempting to create a belief that the Stalin pamphlet had been manufactured by the Goldwater campaigners with diabolical cunning, and had been distributed in order to smear McFarland by reverse inference.

A week after the votes were counted, I learned that the time for these special television charges had been contracted for on Friday, which seemed to indicate that McFarland's organization had anticipated Duffy's official statement.

The polls would open in just eighteen hours. We had fought a bitter, exhausting campaign. Barry had served his fellow citizens, and the nation, with great distinction for six years. Would all this now be swept away in a moment of last minute hysteria?

We knew the author of the pamphlet would be identified eventually, but by then it might be too late.*

THIS WAS THE SITUATION when Barry went before the television cameras at nine o'clock on that Monday election eve. He used ten minutes of the time introducing his family in a homey, quiet atmosphere which had been a part of our original plan. Then he turned his face to the camera and recited the events of the Stalin cartoon.

Why had Duffy purchased his tickets for the airline trip to Phoenix before anyone in Phoenix knew about the existence of the Stalin cartoon? What reasonable inquiry did Duffy make when he arrived in Phoenix? How could he accuse Stephen Shadegg of a widespread distribution of the cartoons when all Shadegg had done was to mail samples of the cartoon to some thirty newspaper editors throughout the state?

"Why didn't Duffy question me?" Goldwater demanded. "Why didn't he question Shadegg? Why didn't he question the people who found the handbill in the first place? And where is Duffy now? Nothing has been solved, no proof of responsibility has been produced.

"I'm here," Goldwater said to his audience, "Shadegg is here. Where is Duffy?"

It was a skyrocket finish to a campaign filled with emotion and danger.

When Barry left the television studio on election eve, he went directly to the airport to fly to Yuma. Yuma was the one television outlet in the state he could not reach by cable; and since a kinescope would be too late, it had been arranged that Goldwater would fly to Yuma and repeat his broadcast live for viewers in that area.

Dean Burch, Barry's able and dedicated administrative assistant, who had helped discover the damaging information as to the circumstances of Duffy's trip to Arizona, suggested that since we knew Duffy had not left town, it might be worthwhile trying to find him.

We found him. At least we found out where he was by eleven o'clock that night. Duffy was with McFarland and Bibolet in the offices of television station KTVK, owned by the Governor.

Dean and I waited patiently for Duffy to return to his room in a resort hotel, a room which had been reserved for him by Roland Bibolet. When Duffy came in about one-thirty A.M. he was at first defiant and noncommittal; finally showing resentment over our questioning, he said, "Hell, Burch, you know what this is all about. You're a Republican, I'm a Democrat. I came out here to do a job and I did it."

The next day the voters of Arizona did their job. They gave Barry a 35,000 vote majority over McFarland.

* Frank Goldberg, 26, a Democrat and member of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, and Earl N. Anderson, 52, a one-time grand lodge representative for four Western states of the International Association of Machinists, were ultimately identified by the FBI as being responsible for the Stalin cartoon. Goldberg, at one time, was recording secretary of the Machinists Local 763 at the Goodyear Corporation in Phoenix, and was a Democratic precinct committeeman. Both men were convicted in June, 1960.

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What You Can Do

Human Events

Vol. XIX, No. 13—Section III

March 31, 1962

Medicare Battle Enters Final Round

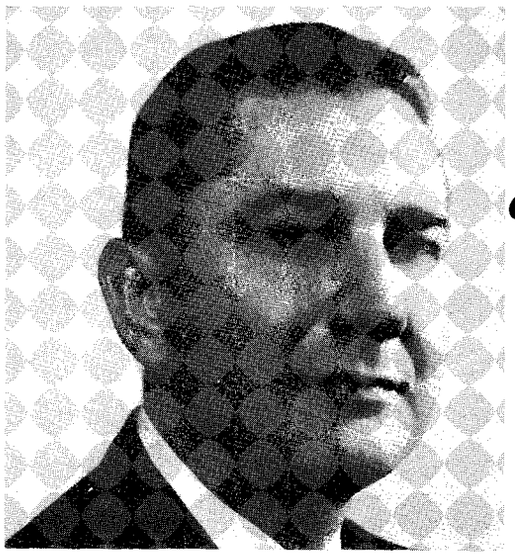
WANTING ABOVE ALL to establish the principle of "services for medical care to the aged through the social security mechanism," President Kennedy is putting unusual pressure on the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. It is reported that he has told House Democratic leaders he will accept any compromise that will get the bill passed—providing it includes "services through social security."

Once the Federal government's foot is in the door, the President knows that coverage of the bill can be expanded each year until, eventually, the ultimate goal of socialized medicine (government medical-dental coverage, cradle to the grave) has been achieved. This has been the history of all welfare-state measures. Those leading the fight for the program know it, too.

HUMAN EVENTS (March 24, 1961) reported that ex-Congressman Aime J. Forand (D.-R. I.), commenting on legislation involving the social security mechanism for medical services, said: "If we can only break through and get our foot inside the door, then we can expand the program after that." Forand introduced the socialized medicine bill which preceded the King-Anderson Bill now under discussion.

The Communist party has said of a plan involving medical services through social security that it "opens the door toward complete hospital, medical and surgical services for the aged—and ultimately for the whole population."

The Socialist party, writing about the same social security principle, said: " . . . the Forand Bill [forerunner of the present King Bill] will not be paid for on insurance principles, according to factors of estimated 'risk.' It will be paid for through the tax mechanisms of social security—that is, Americans will pay according to their means, and receive (within limits) according to their needs . . . . Once the Forand Bill is passed, this nation will be provided with a mechanism for socialized medicine, capable of indefinite expansion in every direction until it includes the entire population. And it is already evident that there will be massive pressures in favor of such expansion."



Committee Chairman Mills

Democrat Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas is Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He was co-author of the Kerr-Mills program now in operation and which does not involve the social security principle. He is a staunch advocate of American-type medicine. Mills is the principal object of the bombardment. Further bombardment is expected to result from rallies to be held in leading cities, fostered by the New Frontier to generate pressure on Mills' committee. The Administration's aim is to dislodge the bill from the committee, which has not yet reported it out to the full House.

The following are members of the Ways and Means Committee (Republicans in all capital letters). Each congressman's latest ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action) rating follows the state name.

Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, Chairman—31
Cecil R. King of California—2
Thomas J. O'Brien of Illinois—7
Hale Boggs, of Lousiana—15
Eugene J. Keogh of New York—6
Burr P. Harrison of Virginia—80
Frank M. Karsten of Missouri—2
A. Sydney Herlong, Jr., of Florida—70
James B. Frazier, Jr., of Tennessee—27
William J. Green, Jr., of Pennsylvania—7
John C. Watts of Kentucky—27
Albert C. Ullman of Oregon—2
James A. Burke of Massachusetts—7
Clark W. Thompson of Texas—23
Mrs. Martha W. Griffiths of Michigan—10
NOAH M. MASON of Illinois—98
JOHN W. BYRNES of Wisconsin—92
HOWARD H. BAKER of Tennessee—56
THOMAS B. CURTIS of Missouri—88
VICTOR A. KNOX of Michigan—79
JAMES B. UTT of California—98
JACKSON E. BETTS of Ohio—97
BRUCE ALGER of Texas—100
STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN of New York—93
HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI of Pennsylvania—72

Write them immediately, urging them to uphold the best medical system in the world and to oppose the King-Anderson Bill—and any compromise.

For a full discussion of this subject, see HUMAN EVENTS' Special Supplement entitled, "The Case Against Socialized Medicine." This supplement can be obtained for the following prices: single copy, 25 cents; 5 copies, $1; 30 copies, $5; 500 copies, $40; 1,000 copies, $70. In 5,000 lots, $60 per thousand. (Details on the next page.)

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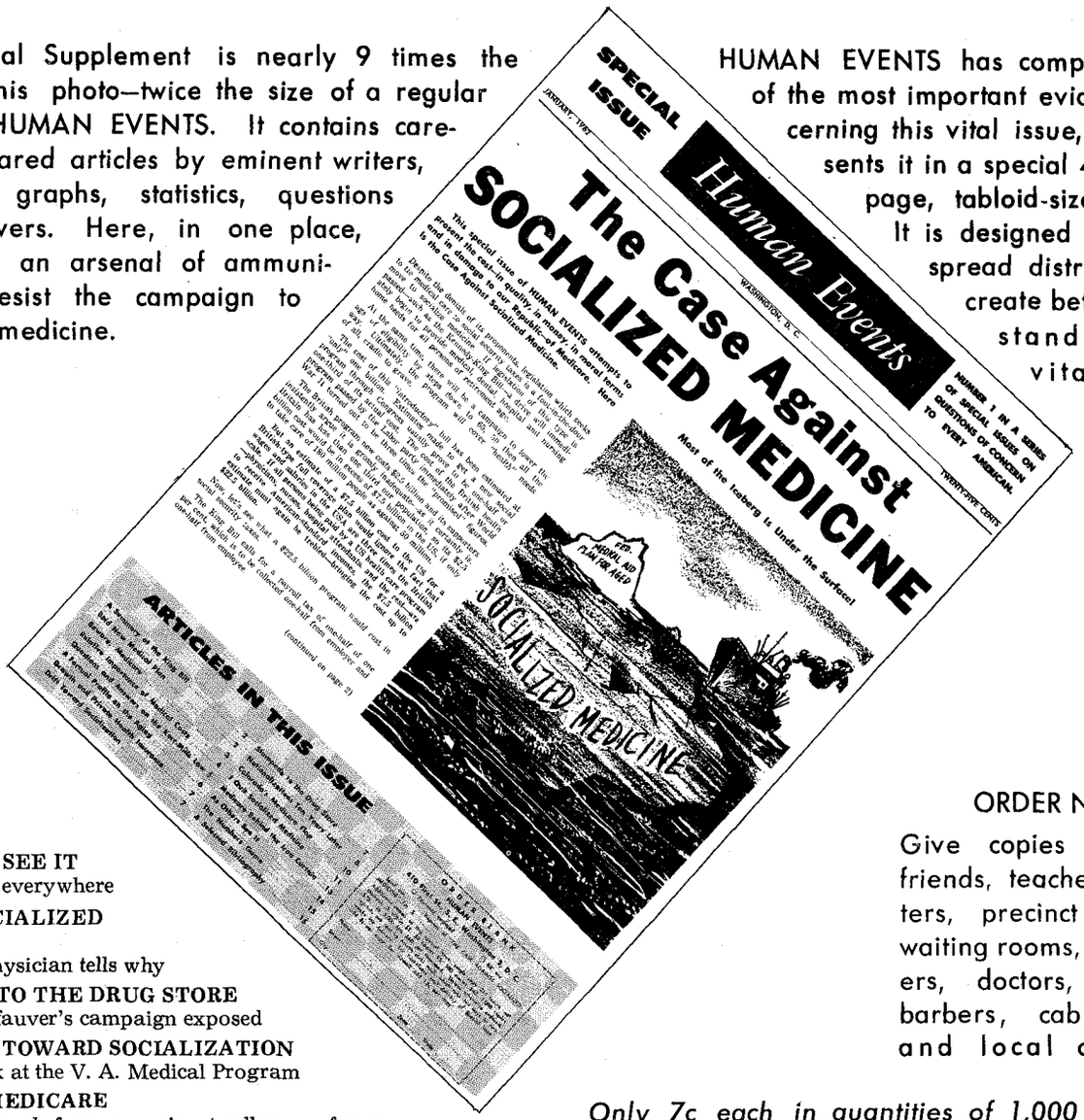
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29 College Presidents Oppose Federal Aid to Colleges and Universities

Presidents of 29 independent and church-related colleges from a dozen states oppose pending legislation (H. R. 8900 and S. 1241) which provides construction grants and Federal scholarships for institutions of higher education. Reprinted below is the statement of John A. Howard, president of Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois, who initiated the meeting that resulted in this concerted action—by institutions which would benefit directly from the proposed legislation:

I. Is the financial assistance of the Federal government necessary to meet the legitimate needs of the colleges and universities?

The Federal government derives its income from the people, either receiving it from them in current taxes or borrowing against future taxes. Consequently, it has no funds available to it that are not available to the people themselves. As the government inaugurates new programs, it must obtain more money from the people to carry out these programs. In short, the people can, through private gifts, or through lower levels of government, support any increased domestic educational programs just as extensively as the Federal government can.

HOWARD

The issue, therefore, is whether the people will choose to support specific educational endeavors and to what extent. It stands to reason that the private sources that support independent education, and the state or local governments that support public education, are in more direct touch with the educational institutions which they support than the Federal government could possibly be. They are, therefore, in a better position than the Federal government to judge what instructional and what building programs genuinely deserve more funds and how much.

Ultimately, the only necessity for the Federal government to underwrite higher education arises if the people do not choose to make funds available of their own accord, and Congress decides it is a better judge of what the people ought to do than they, themselves, are.

Congress has, in the past, enacted legislation to resolve major problems that face us as a nation. It has directed funds to those educational activities of which the expansion was believed to be critically important for the safety or the development of the nation. Such, indeed, has been the reason to support the establishment of the foreign language and science programs under the National Defense Education Act.

Now, however, the Federal government proposes to advance from the provision of assistance in particular fields to a general outlay for all institutions of higher education in their building programs and their scholarship funds. This transition—from the particular to the general—is a drastic change of national policy, and should not be undertaken without the most thorough evaluation of the consequences. We believe that the destructive results of this course will far outweigh the benefits.

Telegram Sent to House Rules Committee

We, the undersigned college presidents, jointly and individually stand in absolute opposition to those provisions of H.R.8900 and S.1241 which would provide construction grants or student scholarships for private and church-related colleges. Such provisions would embark this country upon a radically-new program and policy of support of privately-endowed higher education which will have devastating consequences to the individual institution and therefore will prove inimical to the public interest. Supporting communications will follow.

John A. Howard, *Rockford College*—Coordinator
Augustana College, Conrad Bergendoff
Bates College, Charles Phillips
Beloit College, Miller Upton
Bethany College, Perry Gresham
Brigham Young University, Ernest Wilkinson
Carroll College, Robert Steele
Claremont College, George Benson
Coker College, Fenton Keyes
DePauw University, Russell Humbert
Franklin College, Harold Richardson
Goshen College, Paul Mininger
Hanover College, John Horner
Hillsdale College, Donald Phillips
Hope College, Irwin Lubbers
Indiana Central College, Lynd Esch
Lake Erie College, Paul Weaver
Manchester College, Blair Helman
Millikin University, Paul McKay
Monmouth College, Robert Gibson
Mount Union College, Carl Bracy
Principia College, David Andrews
University of Redlands, George Armacost
St. Olaf College, Clemens Granskow
Transylvania College, Irvin Lunger
Valparaiso University, O. P. Kretzmann
Wabash College, Byron Trippett
Wheaton College, Raymond Edman
Wofford College, Charles Marsh

II. What effects would Federal grants for salaries and buildings have upon individual colleges and universities?

In the first place, it may be assumed that such a program once begun will continue to expand indefinitely. It is not in the nature of political reality for members of Congress to withdraw, once it is established, a large-scale program of financial assistance while the need persists. On the contrary, Congress will be under continuous pressure to increase the volume of aid and increases will be voted. Therefore, more Federal tax dollars will be collected to be spent on education, and less dollars will be available to education from other sources—provision for tax-deductible gifts notwithstanding, since gift dollars are only partly offset by tax savings. As the Federal government shoulders this burden, not only will there be less money available to other sources of support, but there will naturally follow a diminution of the sense of need to provide funds for education on the part of state or local governments and private individuals or groups.

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At the present time the variety of sources of funds for colleges and universities reinforces the diversity of educational programs and educational philosophies among the various institutions: one college now attracts funds because of the religious nature of its programs, another because of its freedom from religious influences; one for its conservative views, another for its liberalism. It is generally agreed that the diversity of our educational institutions is a principal cause not only for the advanced state of educational services in the United States, but also for the vitality and success of our economy, our culture and our political system.

As the various colleges turn more and more to a single source of revenue—the Federal government—the differences that set one college apart from the next will inevitably be reduced. The tendency toward sameness will result both from the enabling legislation itself and from the judgments and interpretations of the people who administer the programs.

Any legislation which gives money away must have some restrictions to insure that the money is spent for the intended purpose. Those restrictions, however broad and reasonable they may be, cannot fail to diminish the variety and the flexibility of the internal operations of the separate educational institutions. A provision of one bill now before Congress, for instance, would make construction funds available to religious institutions, provided they are not spent for facilities in which religious activities take place. If enacted, this provision would make it necessary for any institution which begins the first morning class with prayer to change its program in order to qualify for the grants.

Totally apart from the provisions of the laws, the human factors that are active in the seeking and dispensing of enormous sums of money will also bring about conformity among colleges. Any successful manufacturer tailors his product to the personal inclinations of the public which buys his product; any successful salesman shapes his sales talk according to the known bias of his customer. In this instance, the Federal government, which proposes to underwrite a third of the cost of construction and provide substantial scholarships to students, will become in one congressional vote the largest single customer of all private colleges and a substantial customer of all public ones—a customer in the sense that the government will decide whether to buy for the nation the services of each college, with its Federal grants.

College executives, however determined they are to maintain independence of planning and programming for their institutions, will find it necessary to tailor their educational programs to meet the legal requirements of governmental subsidy on the one hand, and the personal views of the men who designate the recipients of government grants on the other.

III. Is not this line of reasoning based in part on an assumption that the officers of government will be less than objective, honest, wise and fair?

No, the honesty or the ability of those who administer the funds may be assumed, but is irrelevant unless the plan is to dispense funds with an absolute even-handedness, with like shares for the excellent, the mediocre and the questionable. We cannot believe the intention would be to support the good and the bad with equal grants. Therefore, at some points in the law and at many points in the administration, value judgments will be made which will fit some institutions as they are and bend the others to the pattern. The matter of the disclaimer affidavit in the present National Defense Education Act loans is a case in point.

IV. Are there other cautions in considering a general Federal subsidy of higher education?

Yes, there are many, but the one of paramount importance is the effect upon the individual citizen of the philosophy of this Federal aid program: that the government will take care of our educational needs and solve our educational problems, and thus relieve each citizen of the responsibility to judge what is good in education and to provide through private gifts and state and local taxes the funds to operate successfully the kind of education he believes in.

The ultimate strength of our nation is in direct proportion to the degree to which the individual citizen accepts responsibility for his own welfare and his own behavior, and rises to assume a responsibility for what happens to the group. As the people of a nation are led to believe that their wants and needs will be met by a paternalistic government, they are relieved of the compulsion to take action of their own accord. While this encouragement to the citizen to divest himself of responsibility is generally dangerous to the state as well as to the character of the citizens, it is critically so with regard to education.

At the present time, a college must compete with its sister institutions for money, for faculty and for superior students. The stature and vitality of its educational program and the efficiency and harmony of its operation affect directly its capacity to attract funds and able personnel. Competition in this instance breeds excellence and encourages pioneering endeavors. A college administrator with a new educational plan seeks out a source of funds which regards that plan as worthy of investment.

As the government becomes the main dispenser of funds, the tendency will be to refrain from innovation and to hold to those programs which have in the past elicited Federal grants, or to experiment only in those directions which are known to be well received by the agents who pass Federal judgment. In the selection of college executives, the candidate's ability to please the keeper of the Federal purse will become an increasingly important consideration. In short, the continued success of a college will no longer depend on the character of its educational program to the same extent, but rather upon its ability to get its share of government largesse.

Conclusion

THIS STATEMENT we believe to be a wholly positive action to protect our institutions of higher education from a cure for grievous problems, a cure which may appear to be the easiest one, but a cure which we believe will deform the patient—if it does not kill him. At Rockford College, our convictions on this matter are so firm that we have declared our intention to seek no funds under the pending legislation, however generous the provisions may be.

We make this presentation in the fervent hope that Congress and the people will refrain from providing a general subsidy of higher education if they recognize the consequences of such a course.

The national government must concern itself profoundly with the extent and the character of educational services, but the general underwriting of higher education by the Federal government we regard as wholly contrary to the best interests of the separate educational institutions and therefore hostile to the welfare of our people.

John A. Howard, President,
Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality.

—Dante

Vol. XIX, No. 13—Section V

March 31, 1962

Nixon Follows Strange Advice

By FULTON LEWIS, JR.

IT IS STRANGE ADVICE being followed by Richard Milhous Nixon in his campaign for the governorship of California.

The former Vice President has launched an all-out attack upon Right-wing "extremists." Members of the John Birch Society, he says, are unwelcome in the Republican party. He goes further, declaring that he will not appear on the same campaign platform with two incumbent Congressmen, John H. Rousselot and Edgar W. Hiestand. The reason: They are members of the Birch Society.

Nixon's tactic has bitterly split the California GOP. His former campaign manager, Murray Chotiner, the man who "made" Nixon politically, has broken with his long-time friend on the issue.

Chotiner points out that the GOP is a minority party and cannot hope to win statewide if its own members fight among themselves. Mr. Nixon, he argues, needs all the support he can get in this campaign, and Nixon errs grievously by alienating the "hard core" of conservatives who have backed him for so long.

The "strange advice" that Nixon appears to have accepted was offered on January 26 by Joseph Rauh, national vice chairman of the Left-wing Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Lawyer Rauh, whose clients have included Soviet agent William Remington and union chief Walter Reuther, arrived in California to spearhead an ADA membership drive.

Rauh, who doubles as Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, offered some advice to the GOP. He said:

1. The GOP leadership must "disassociate itself utterly and irrevocably from the radical Right."

2. Richard Nixon should "stop slapping the John Birch Society on the wrist and repudiate it once and for all."

3. Republican voters should repudiate "such Birchite spokesmen" as Rousselot and Hiestand.

The Nixon campaign tack has also been criticized by GOP tacticians in Washington, who warn that it could split their party far more than the Knowland-Knight battles of 1958. They point out that there is substantial opposition to Nixon among California Republicans.

Although Nixon won primary endorsement from the influential California Republican Assembly, it was not easy. Right-winger Joseph C. Shell polled 176 votes to Nixon's 263. Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, a "progressive Republican," appears to be in more serious trouble and was unable to receive a majority of votes for endorsement. Kuchel received 220; Howard Jarvis, a little-known businessman, 113; and Loyd Wright of Los Angeles, past President of the American Bar Association, 107. The latter two are strong conservatives.

The Nixon campaign stance is decidedly unpopular with members of the state's 14-man GOP congressional delegation. Only two members back the strategy. Two others are undecided and ten are critical of the plan as "divisive."

The odds seem to be lengthening against Nixon in his effort to unseat Democratic Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. With each passing month the Nixon lead has dropped in polls taken by both candidates. He now leads by only two percentage points in one widely-respected tabulation.

Brown's campaign appears to be picking up steam. He has improved markedly as a campaigner in the past year, appears less bumbling, more sure of himself. He has been promised personal support from President Kennedy and expects organized labor to pull out all stops in his behalf.

In short, Richard Nixon is in solid trouble. And unless he can piece together his own party, he might as well forget about November. Such is the verdict of party chieftains here in Washington.

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Santa Claus Rocky

From the New York Daily News

Governor Rockefeller feels that some low-income people living in public housing would like to live in apartments which only middle-income people inhabit now. If they can't realize this desire, they'll get inferiority complexes or something, and won't that be terrible?

So the Rock proposes that 20 per cent of middle-income apartment space be opened to these tragic souls, who would go on paying the same old rent as long as their incomes remained low. The taxpayers would make up the difference via a state subsidy.

As for middle-incomers whose hearts burn to live in Rockefeller or Vanderbilt-style apartments, their turn no doubt will come later, as the Rock happily plans to make New York State a paradise.

We're only thankful that this Santa Claus notion must get voter approval next November 6 if it is to take effect. If the voters don't give it the grand boot, they're dumber than we ever thought they were.

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TV's Anti-Rightist Programs

By SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

TWO MAJOR TELEVISION networks recently devoted lengthy programs to what they have titled as "documentation" of "Thunder on the Right."

I watched these programs with considerable interest. They presented such nationally-known figures as Dr. Fred Schwarz, Billy J. Hargis and participants in a recent Tulsa, Oklahoma, anti-Communist meeting.

The television editors selected the more frenzied, passionate statements of these gentlemen for release to the nation-wide audience, and in the CBS program they opened and closed with some filmed comment from me.

My dismay over this presentation stems from my inability to understand how or why the television producers could confuse a determined anti-Communist sentiment with what they call a Right-wing or conservative political philosophy.

I did not hear any of the speakers presented offer anything which might be regarded as a political philosophy. These people said nothing to stamp them as either conservative or liberal. But the suggestion of the television program left the viewer with the notion that only conservatives oppose communism.

I am appalled that this could be true. Certainly the liberals, even those gentlemen with whom I find myself in such violent disagreement, must oppose communism. Opposition to this implacable enemy, who is bent on destroying all of the values you and I hold dear, is not the exclusive property of one small group—or is it?

Were the TV commentators attempting to say that the Liberal Establishment is really not greatly concerned over communism?

In my opinion, the suggestion that all who oppose communism are conservative or Right-wing or "extremist"-Right-wing cannot be supported. And I am somewhat surprised that my liberal friends, whom I believe to be staunchly opposed to communism, have not protested to the television networks.

Perhaps this silence can be explained by the fact that both network presentations seemed to carry an implication of criticism. This is not time for hysterical denunciations or for division in this nation over the necessity of defeating the Communist ambition.

The men and women who appeared on these television programs are, for the most part, devoting themselves to arousing this nation and its citizens to the menace of communism. And to suggest that because they are opposed to communism they are conservative—or vice versa—would, it would seem to me, exclude a great many people who are not conservatives but who are opposed to communism.

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Where Have We Heard This Since?

"We shall banish want; we shall banish fear. The essence of National Socialism is human welfare. . . . National Socialism is the revolution of the common man. Rooted in a fuller life for every German from childhood to old age, National Socialism means a new day of abundance at home and a better world order abroad. . . . "

—From a speech by Adolf Hitler

[*Laughter*]

From the Richmond News Leader

VIRGINIA'S SENATOR A. Willis Robertson took the floor the other day to talk about pay raises proposed for Federal employes generally, and for US postal workers in particular.

The President, he noted, had asked a pay increase for the postal workers amounting to $59 million a year, to become effective next January 1. The President had proposed for other government employes an increase of about $150 million.

The Letter Carriers Union, by contrast, has asked an immediate raise for the postal workers of $700 million a year, and a corresponding increase for all other civil service workers of $2 billion a year.

Senator Robertson's purpose in arising was to make the argument that pay increases for Federal employes ought to bear some relationship, first, to salaries paid in private employment for comparable work, and, second, to increases in the cost of living. On the latter point, he put some data in the *Congressional Record* to show that the entrance salaries of carriers in the Postal Field Service have increased by 179 per cent since 1945, while the cost of living has climbed only 113 per cent. At higher levels of the Federal service, pay increases have been proportionately much smaller. If any Federal workers deserve a raise, in order to keep pace with the cost of living, it is those in Grade 13 and up—in general, those earning more than $11,000 a year.

Mr. Robertson presented these simple truths with what seemed to us a rather weary tone. He didn't believe they would carry much weight in holding down a pay raise bill. And why?

Back in 1960, he recalled, the same situation existed. An effort was made then to equalize salaries at the higher levels, but the Congress acted in precisely the opposite direction: It limited the pay increases to salaries of $11,000 or less. Mr. Robertson concluded by saying:

"Everyone knows that the majority of the postal workers earn less than $10,000 and it would not be realistic to expect Congress to ignore the fact in an election year —to put the matter mildly." [Laughter.]

Well, we love that [laughter.] A letter carrier now starts with the Post Office in Grade 4 of the Field Service at $4,345 a year, plus all the fringe benefits that go with Federal employment. The job requires good health, stout feet and at least an eighth-grade education. That's it. At the end of seven years he's earning $5,305; or if he's moved into Postal Field Service's Grade 5, he's earning $5,565. That figures out to about $464 a month, which is more than the maximum salary paid a school teacher with a bachelor's degree in 74 counties and cities in Virginia.

The Letter Carriers Union is supporting a bill that would make the top step in Grade 4 $6,250 and in Grade 5, $6,500. We know some young college professors who might be interested in applying.

Even in an election year [laughter], the Congress probably will not go along with any such increases as these, but Senator Robertson's pessimism doubtless was well justified. The postal rates will go up, the postal salaries will go up, and taxpayer's spirits will go down. We're glad the Senate had a good [laugh]. We're in stitches—or at least in the binds.

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How Stalin Sought Popularity

A Warning to the USA

By JAMES L. WICK

TWO WEEKS after Stalin's death in March, 1953, I was in the Soviet Union. Moscow's Diplomatic Row was buzzing with postmortems of the late dictator.

Ordinary human beings want to be loved; dictators, being megalomaniacs, want something more. They want to be worshipped as God. They want to go down in history as the "Greatest Man that ever lived." They use their enormous power to get what they want. At the same time that Stalin was seeking to tighten his control over the people, he was also thinking of ways to convince the masses that his every thought was for their best interest.

During Stalin's rule, Stalin statues were to be seen in every public building; their manufacture often was referred to by cynical observers as "the biggest Soviet industry." Stalin's favorite painting, himself with a child in his arms, was to be found in every schoolroom and in nearly every home. "Stalin's great love was for children," said every Intourist guide as he came before the photo labeled in the stores as "Stalin with Child."

Less well known was another Stalin device.

All announcements of something better for the people had to attribute the good fortune to Stalin's love of his people and his genius in increasing their standard of living. On the other hand, under penalty of death, government edicts that worsened the lot of the masses were never the result of the Communist system nor of any mistake or miscalculation of the dictator. The blame was always put upon one of the following:

1. agents or spies of war-mongering countries;

2. remnants of the Czarist regime—the Kulaks, the bourgeois;

3. anti-Communist characteristics not yet wiped out among all the people; or

4. lower echelons of the government—*if government had to be blamed.*

When the ruble was devalued and the savings of billions thus confiscated, the announcement naturally did not come from Joseph Stalin, head of the government. In fact, any bureaucrat who would have linked Stalin's name with any piece of bad news for the people of Russia would be charged the next day with treason and land in Moscow's Lubianka Prison.

A DRAMATIC EXAMPLE of how all good things had to be attributed to the Father of all the Russians was told to me.

If a person reaching retirement age got no response to his application for a pension, he might be advised by a Communist official to sit down and write directly to Marshal Stalin himself.

When he did so, the response would be electric. An answer, something like this, would come back—immediately:

"Your letter addressed to Marshal Stalin was instantly brought to his attention. I have been authorized to tell you he is deeply grieved by the news that the Pension Bureau has not yet sent you your much-

deserved pension. The Marshal directed a personal investigation and has ordered a reprimand of all those concerned with this stupid inefficiency. The Marshal finds that you are entitled to your pension. Enclosed find the current and all back payments.

"The Marshal thanks you for calling this matter to his attention and he apologizes to you for the incompetency of the Pension Bureau. If anything like this should occur again, please write him immediately."

In any country, the bigger the bureaucracy, the greater the red tape and the sheer inability to get things done by government. To prevent popular revolt against the system, which is so costly in proportion to the returns, Big Government turns this liability into an asset.

IN RUSSIA, the larger the number of persons for whom the kind of favor described above was done, the larger the number of people who came to regard Marshal Stalin as their personal friend and saviour.

The bigger the US government becomes, and the inefficiencies that creep in because of a growing and arrogant bureaucracy, the greater the chance for the man at the top and the members of Congress to utilize this Stalin technique.

The more "free" things done by the government for voters, the more favors congressmen can do for their constituents; the greater the debt of those constituents to their congressmen, the more difficult it is for constituents—especially those in business needing a friend in the government—to get out and oppose them.

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QUESTION *of the Week*

Q. What are Kennedy's chances of getting Congress to pass the King-Anderson Bill providing medical care for the aged through social security?

A. See "What You Can Do" (page 235, Section III) in this issue, which urges readers to write to members of the House Ways and Means Committee, asking them to resist the Administration's pressure to pass the bill.

Ninety days ago—before Congress met—even Administration "insiders" were skeptical of the chances of this bill. Today, they are "hopeful." The pressures being put behind the bill include every power available to the White House and to the forces behind it.

The medicare bill is rated No. 1 in priority on the New Frontier program. The reason is that once this bill is passed, no matter how emasculated, its supporters feel sure the principle of Federal medicare will thus be firmly and irrevocably established.

Persons not on social security—about one-fourth of the 17 million aged over 65—will not be aided by the King-Anderson Bill. But, immediately after its passage, a campaign will be started to include them—as well as to enlarge the aid offered to the point where it takes care of all of the sick needs of those eligible for social security.

In succeeding years will come the program to reduce the age down to 50; and then to include everybody, of all ages.

Unions have retired workers on full-time salary canvassing every home in their vicinity—telling their neighbors that the government will pay the medicare bills of senior citizens if they will but wire or write their congressmen and get this bill passed. This is political activity paid for by the unions. Corporations would be lambasted if they duplicated this effort, but unions do it without worry.

Being scheduled now for the major cities are "Senior Citizen Rallies." Citizens above 65 will be told that as soon as this bill is passed they will be eligible for the bill's free medical care—*as a matter of right, not of charity*. They will be told that their social security payments pay for it—though no social security payments were made by them for this purpose, and the social security trust fund is already committed for a quarter of a trillion dollars ($250 billion), according to former Budget Director Maurice Stans.

In 1960, by a large majority, Americans above 65 voted against Kennedy. For example, the Cleveland *Press* showed that senior citizens in Cleveland went 3 to 1 for Nixon in a city whose over-all percentage was 3 to 1 the other way.

Now, there are two ways to get the older people's votes. One is to depreciate the savings of older people to reduce them to helpless dependency upon the state. The second method is to promise something for nothing to the older citizens, a certain percentage of whom will eagerly fall for the bait. We are now witnessing the second method in actual operation.

Reprints of this four-page section are available: Single copy 20 cents; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

Space Cooperation?

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

A WISE AND EXPERIENCED foreign correspondent, Paul Scott Mowrer, once remarked, "How inexorable is history! It takes no account of how well meant are our mistakes."

We might just be on the brink of making another well-meant mistake unless we by-pass Khrushchev's suggestion that we cooperate with him in outer space.

When Khrushchev congratulated President Kennedy on Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn's successful three-orbital flight, made in the full glare of world-wide publicity, he added a P. S.

It was a dilly—a let's you-and-me-share-outer-space knowledge.

Nimble-brained Nikita, hitch-hiking on the magnificent American achievement, thereby milked it for its propaganda value to him. He also counted on US generosity at the moment of its great triumph.

President Kennedy, tongue in cheek, called Khrushchev's bid "encouraging" and wrote him a nice polite thank you letter but he held on to his chips and kept his cards close to his vest.

UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, from his usual dreamy divan on Cloud 9, said the United States, the Soviet Union and other qualified nations should pool their outer-space efforts under the auspices of the UN.

Realists among space officials wondered why the Soviets should suddenly want to work with us, and concluded we must have something they need and want badly.

What is not generally realized is that the United States has made the results of its various efforts and achievements in space available to other nations. The complete results of the second manned sub-orbital flight by Virgil Grissom, including extensive bio-medical data, for instance, were recently published by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in a 58-page report. Undoubtedly, several copies have already found their way behind the Iron Curtain for exhaustive study.

The Reds do not believe in cooperation. They are takers, not givers or sharers. Khrushchev's sudden switch from his usual snarling, fist-shaking position to his other pose of cooing dove, full of sweetness and light, must, therefore, derive from a need for something we have which their spies haven't yet been able to steal.

Any number of experts on Communist behavior could have said (but didn't), "I told you so."

President Kennedy frequently starts out being tough but dissipates his strength through procrastination. He will accelerate the great push Colonel Glenn has given the US space program by staying tough with Khrushchev and uncooperative with the Soviets.

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Samuel Gompers, pioneer American labor leader: "Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. In the last analysis, the welfare of the workers depends upon their own initiative. Whatever is done under the guise of philanthropy for social morality which in any way lessens initiative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers. Let social busybodies and professional 'public morals experts' in their fads reflect upon the perils they rashly invite under this pretense of social welfare."

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April Is Dollar Month

April is DOLLAR MONTH for HUMAN EVENTS readers. It is the month in which they can put $1 five-week subscriptions into the hands of as many ACTION-MINDED conservatives as possible.

* * *

If you get out and talk to people, you'll be astounded to notice how many conservatives are now, for the first time in their lives, willing to DO SOMETHING to further the cause.

If they missed it in the press, you can redouble the energy and resolution of those conservatives if you tell them the dramatic story of the two political rallies in New York City March 7. Here are the details:

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) sponsored a conservative meeting in Madison Square Garden; admission, $1 and up. Attendance was 18,000, equal to the Garden's listed capacity for rallies and conventions.

The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the Federation of Young Democrats sponsored a liberal counter-rally at nearby St. Nicholas Arena at the same time; admission, FREE. Attendance was 1,700—less than one-tenth that of the conservative, YAF-sponsored rally.

A few years ago, the size of the two audiences would have been REVERSED. The liberals could easily have attracted 18,000; the conservatives would have had great difficulty getting out 1,700.

The moral is obvious: Even in New York City there has been a spectacular upsurge in conservative strength.

* * *

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YOU know many who ought to be reading HUMAN EVENTS. Once they have become regular readers, they will be inspired to ACT. They will be eager to participate in the critical upcoming 1962 elections.

You can get them started. The help YOU enlist now may be decisive.

During the DOLLAR MONTH of April, send $1 five-week subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS. Send all you can. Get your order in the mails TODAY . . . before you forget this vital matter.

Think of these immortal words of Edward Everett Hale:

"I am only one, but I am one

"I can't do everything, but I can do something

"And what I can do, that I ought to do

"And what I ought to

"By the grace of God I shall do."

* * *

What Others Say— A Few Examples

A leading advocate of conservatism, Mrs. Durive Troyak says—

"For years, I had been so saturated with New Deal literature that the first issue of HUMAN EVENTS I read startled me. It took three years before I had read enough to undo the damage of all the years of propaganda. I wish HUMAN EVENTS could be sent to every family in the county."

Congressman James E. Bromwell of Iowa won against a Liberal in 1960. How? He says—

"I owe my election to what I call 'Beloved Amateurs', many of whom had their interest in politics created or stimulated by reading HUMAN EVENTS. Their continuing interest in politics at local, state and national levels is aided by reading it. There is no more stimulating reading for oneself, or a more appropriate gift for any 'Beloved Amateur' than HUMAN EVENTS. It is a call to action with instructions on what to do in the cause of freedom."

Taylor Caldwell, author of many best-selling novels says—

"Since an unknown friend, and I do mean friend, subscribed for a few issues of HUMAN EVENTS for me I have eagerly awaited its arrival every week. Not only is the regular news-sheet enlightening, but the articles accompanying it give an insight into the terrible doings of the enemies of America, thus alerting all patriotic citizens."

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'The Liberal Papers'

Surrender on the Installment Plan

A THUNDERCLAP FROM THE LEFT reverberated through the nation's capital last week. It came in the form of *The Liberal Papers*, a new book published by Doubleday and Company. Contained in this revealing paperback of 12 essays is precisely what Republican Senators Barry Goldwater and John Tower are talking about when they charge that the crucial threat to America today comes not from the "radical" Right, but the lunatic liberals whom the President can discover by just taking a peek over his (left) shoulder.

These essays on foreign policy, some of them written by consultants to top governmental agencies such as the National Security Council, are, in effect, the American liberal counterpart of the "Better Red Than Dead" thesis of philosopher Bertrand Russell and his followers in England.

As the reader will find out, they call for a radical relaxation of our defenses against communism, "unilateral acts" of disarmament, abandonment of our Asian allies, recognition of Red China, a retreat from West Berlin, *et cetera, ad nauseam*. In short, surrender on the installment plan.

The articles in the book are part of a series completed in the beginning of 1960 for the Congressional Liberal Project. Formed in 1959 by a group of House Democrats, the Liberal Project consisted of 12 active Democratic members. Twenty-three other Democratic congressmen, including Chester Bowles, were, according to *The Liberal Papers*, "close to the Liberal Project" and constituted a group "far to the 'left' of well-known Democratic Senators such as Humphrey [Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.)]." (pp. 15-16)

Forty scholars, scientists and foreign policy "experts"—a good portion of them now advising the Administration in one capacity or another—were also consultants to the Project.

The *Papers*, edited by Congressman James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.), a member of the Project, gives the official position of this ultra-Left group.

While five of the original 12 were defeated for office in 1960, three of them have been plucked for government jobs by the Kennedy Administration.

Presented below are significant quotations from eight of the book's dozen chapters. (Actual pages they can be found on are listed in parentheses.)

Chapter 1—"The American Crisis" by David Riesman, professor of social science at Harvard University and author of *The Lonely Crowd* and *Individualism Reconsidered*, and Michael Maccoby, a US Public Health Research Fellow.

" . . . the Americans can indeed envy the ease with which Englishmen discuss alternatives to nuclear war, ranging from unilateral disarmament to diplomatic maneuvers aimed at easing particular points of tension in the cold war, whether in China or in Germany." (p. 23)

"The British, protecting their privacy better, fear spies, secrets and invaders less than we do and have never been as hysterical about communism." (p. 25)

"But as the cold war continues, it becomes increasingly difficult for decent Americans, humane enough to prefer peace to an egocentric national honor, to be outspokenly and genuinely anti-Communist." (p. 30)

* * *

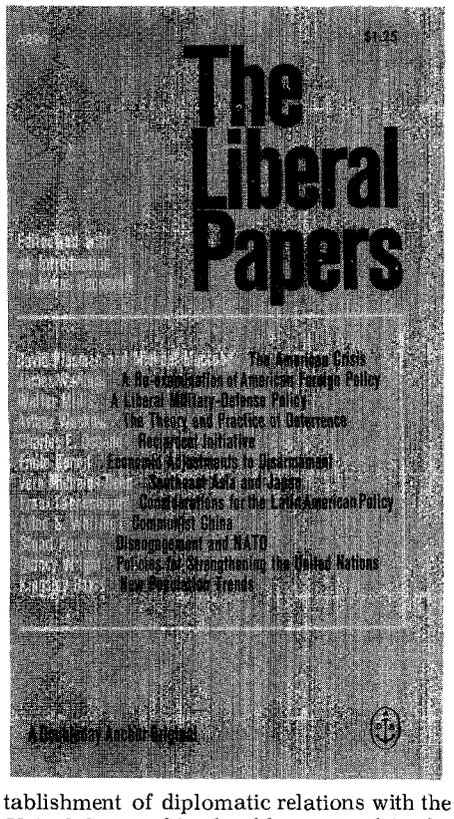
Chapter 2—"A Re-Examination of American Foreign Policy" by James Warburg, foreign policy expert and author of *United States in a Changing World* and *The West in Crisis*.

"The Polish Rapacki Plan appeals to us as a point of departure in shaping a Western proposal for reunifying Germany at the price of its military neutralization." (p. 68)

"We believe that the time has come when the United States should liberalize its restrictive trade policy *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union." (p. 75)

"Even if it is by no means certain that the Peking regime would welcome the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, this should not stand in the way of our making the attempt to open the channels of negotiation." (p. 76)

A Ready-Made '62 Campaign Issue?



" . . . Taiwan and the Pescadores be placed for at least five years under United Nations administration, (the People's Republic of China having previously become a member nation); . . . the islands be neutralized and demilitarized, . . . the native population of Taiwan and the Pescadores be permitted to decide by plebiscite whether they wish to become part of mainland China. . . . " (p. 78)

"We are convinced that, if the United States were to make such a proposal, it would have the overwhelming support of world opinion, especially if the proposal were backed by a declaration of American willingness to withdraw all military forces from Japan and Okinawa at the appropriate phase of universal disarmament." (p. 78)

"10. Military aid should not be given to any country whose rearmament evokes countervailing rearmament by another. (*E.g.*, Pakistan and India, or Israel and the Arab states.)" (p. 82)

" . . . the decisions of the [President] have in recent years been too strongly influenced by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Bureau of the Budget." (p. 91)

* * *

Chapter 4—"The Theory and Practice of Deterrence" by Arthur Waskow, former legislative assistant to Congressman Robert W. Kastenmeier (D.-Wis.).

"The irony of the cold war is that we think of the Communists as irrational for having started it, and yet trust them to act in a rational manner in prosecuting it. As we have shown, the risks of such trust are enormous, for either by accident or through 'cheating' on our expectations the Soviets might well help military deterrence

(*continued on next page*)

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to fail and war to come. The risks would be far less if an international police were exerting the controls and enforcing the deterrent." (p. 146)

"Soviet disarmament proposals have, at least rhetorically, accepted the idea of careful inspection and enforcement. The rhetoric should be taken seriously long enough to find out whether the Soviets seriously mean it." (p. 146)

"Atomic testing is not vital to American military security because it involves only a marginal addition to fire power and no addition at all to delivery capability." (p. 152)

* * *

Chapter 5—"Reciprocal Initiative" by Charles E. Osgood, professor of psychology and director of the Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois.

". . . [There was a] debate between Bertrand Russell and Sidney Hook on the pages of the *New Leader* (May 26 and July 7, 1958). Russell maintained that a Communist victory would certainly not be so great a disaster as the extinction of human life, whereas Hook maintained just the reverse. I, for one, would have to side with Lord Russell." (p. 161)

". . . we would ultimately lose [an arms race]. . . . But the biggest factor leading me to this conclusion is the difference in our 'ways of life.' The totalitarian system seems better able to wage a conflict on these terms than a democratic system. . . . [The] . . . longer mutual deterrence works and the arms race continues, the more likely we are to fall behind." (pp. 166-167)

"Most Americans are filled with the basically irrational conviction that the only way to avoid military conflict with the Communist world is to prepare for it. . . . Everything becomes channeled into this one overwhelming polarity of good and evil—Cuba is seen as a Communist outpost (when there is probably nothing more Communist about Castro Cuba than there is democratic about Franco Spain). . . . " (p. 192)

". . . one of the advantages of unilateral and reciprocated action is that agreements on what is equable are not required—each side merely monitors its own subsequent unilateral action in terms of its perception of prior reciprocation." (p. 206)

"One thing I find it hard to understand about Americans is their apparent insecurity about their own principles—insecurity which fosters concern over exposing young people to 'alien ideas,' which is agitated by non-conformity, and which supports so-called 'un-American activities' committees." (p. 212)

"The most deep-seated objection to the policy I have outlined stems from what I have called the bogy-man conception of the enemy. Many people will argue that any unilateral act designed to reduce tensions would be interpreted by the Russians as a sign of weakness and, given their despotic drive toward world communism, would encourage them to encroach further on the free world. I cannot deny this as a possibility, even though I consider it remote." (p. 214)

"Recognition of Communist China on our own initiative likewise would have psychological impact far beyond its military significance." (p. 217)

* * *

Chapter 7—"Southeast Asia and Japan" by Vera Micheles Dean, editorial consultant to the Foreign Policy Association, author and director of the Non-Western Civilizations Program of the University of Rochester.

"Nor should we refuse aid to Communist countries, if aid is requested. We are already giving aid to Communist countries in Eastern Europe—Poland and Yugoslavia. The eventuality of undiluted Communist regimes is not at present anticipated in Southeast Asia. However, the United States might make a powerful impression on countries in this area by declaring that it would be ready to give aid to Communist China, which now relies almost exclusively on financial and technological aid from the Soviet bloc, once Peiping has been admitted to represent China in the United Nations." (p. 261-262)

* * *

Chapter 9—"Communist China" by Allen S. Whiting, teacher of Far East courses at Northwestern, Michigan State and Columbia Universities and author.

"Peking's expressed concern over a United States-Japanese hegemony in Northeast Asia was not entirely fantastic, given the *rapprochement* between Tokyo and Washington already evident in 1949-50. The historic invasion path up the peninsula through Manchuria made such a *rapprochement* of genuine concern, should it be accompanied by an anti-Communist, MacArthur-Rhee conquest of North Korea." (p. 291)

* * *

Chapter 10—"Disengagement and NATO" by H. Stuart Hughes, professor of history, Harvard University, and author.

"American policy is currently based on assumptions that have long outlived their usefulness and that have acquired a false air of permanence through the power and prestige of three elderly statesmen—Konrad Adenauer, Charles de Gaulle and Harold Macmillan." (p. 303)

"The rearmament of Germany has aroused fears in Eastern Europe that are justified and that extend far beyond Communist opinion. . . . [The] Western powers might even go as far as offering diplomatic recognition to East Germany and proposing a United Nations guarantee for Berlin's future status." (p. 309)

"From the military standpoint, the logic of the above proposals is a drastic reduction in NATO's scope. A 'disengaged' West Germany would cease to be a member. At a subsequent date Italy and Scandinavia might also prefer neutrality. Similarly France might be left to follow its own nationalist course: the policy recommendations I have made obviously imply a loosening of American ties with de Gaulle. . . . [Such] a position might lead to an eventual neutralization of the whole six-nation area. This would leave NATO a truly Atlantic alliance based on the United States, Canada and Great Britain." (p. 310)

"The basic contention in the above proposals is that it is to the interest of the United States to decrease cold-war tension by drastically reducing the military emphasis of its European policy, by curtailing the nuclear aspirations of its alies, and by encouraging the constitution of a disengaged zone or zones. If we should take the initiative in such proposals, then there would be a good chance that the Soviet Union would respond in similar fashion by recognizing that disengagement and a nuclear truce are in its interest also." (pp. 311-312)

* * *

Chapter 11—"Policies for Strengthening the United Nations" by Quincy Wright, professor emeritus of international law, University of Chicago and University of Virginia.

"This political error [lack of Security Council unity] of the Charter makers was accentuated by incorporation in the Charter of the concept that the United Nations should be composed only of 'peace-loving states' . . . . [It] has become clear that the United Nations should not be a club, membership in which is a privilege, but a reflector of world public opinion as it actually is, an interpreter of the basic obligations of all states. . . . [With] . . . this understanding, it appears that the worse is the behavior of a state the more important that it be a member of the United Nations." (pp. 320-321)

"These errors in the Charter itself, fortunately capable of correction within its terms, were aggravated by the policy of the Western states, whetted by Soviet intransigence, in building the NATO alliance, inevitably countered by the policy of the Communist states in building the Warsaw alliance." (p. 321)

"Recognition by the United States, and admission to the United Nations of Communist China, both Germanys, both Koreas and both Vietnams would seem necessary for effective armament inspection and for stabilization of international relations in Central Europe and the Far East. Self-determination for Taiwan and Berlin and incorporation in mainland China of the off-shore islands of Matsu and Quemoy should be provided for, and the way should be left open for eventual union of the now divided states by negotiation between their governments." (p. 328)

(Note: Other contributors included journalist Walter Millis, Columbia University professor Emile Benoit, Columbia University professor emeritus Frank Tannenbaum and University of California sociologist Kingsley Davis.)

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